M
175 page 164 and following is so to the point that I must needs quote it in its entirety.

"The Mataguayo tongue is spoken by a quite populous nation, the most villainous in the whole Chaco, located between 21° and 24° of latitude and 315° to 317° of longitude, bordering on the territory of the Chiriguanos. The Indians of said nation are known to the Spaniards by the name of Mataguayos, a name taken from the Mataguayo tribe which used to do their agricultural [584] labor for them and also be useful in trading. The other tribes of the Mataguayo nation were known later as time went on under the names of Agoyas, Tentes, Tainoas (or Tainuzes), Palomos, Ajotas, Tañis (it is conjectured that this last tribe belongs to another nation). These names are no longer used, their place having been taken by the following: Matacos, Hueshuos, Pesatupos, Abuchetas, Imacos, etc.

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[197] All the tribes speak the same language with some small differences, as reported by Abbot Joseph Araoz, resident in Faenza, who was a missionary to the Mataguayos and compiled a grammar and a vocabulary of their language some forty years ago. However, by reason of the great length of time elapsed and owing also to his very advanced years, he no longer remembers the language which he has not attempted to keep in mind as it was useless to him under the present circumstances in which blessed Providence has placed us. The aforementioned Mr. Araoz put forth a great deal of effort together with other missionaries
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[197] towards the conversion of the Mataguayos, of which 100 were added to the Chiriguano mission station called Rosario. No small number of Jesuits, both in the past century and in the present one have striven for the conversion of the Mataguayos, but with no other result than that of martyrdom, as is recounted in volumes IX, X and XXIV of Father Charlevoix's Historia del Paraguay [History of Paraguay].

V
175 "The Lule tongue, simple in its construction and different from the other American tongues, (of which I have any knowledge or whose grammatical elements I have read) is spoken in two Jesuit mission stations in the Chaco. These places, which are called Miraflores and Valbuena, belong to the diocese of Tucumán and stand on the banks of the Salado River, near the 25th degree of latitude and between 313° and 314° of longitude. Valbuena lies east of Miraflores, about twelve
V
175 leagues. Father Machoni, in his Lule grammar printed in 1732 (from
114 which I have extracted the grammatical compendium which I shall publish) gives a brief account of the nations that used to speak the Lule

101 131 speech and customs are somewhat different, but in substance it is the same language, and they understand each other perfectly when each speaks in his own way."

"Across from the Colonia Crevaux, on the left bank towards the north there is another tribe called Chorotis which must originally have been a group captured by the Noctenes for their language is a true Mataco or Noctén dialect and many words are identical with Noctén words."

"It is true that these Chorotis live as unto themselves forming a separate tribe, but they are related to and have continual dealings with the Noctenes. Their pronunciation is, however, much clearer and more intelligible than that of the Noctenes."

"These same Noctenes are related to the Matacos of Oran and the Chaco, in which place the Noctenes are called Matacos, and the Matacos living between the left bank of the Oran River and the reservation in which we had a mission at the beginning of this century, take the name of Vejoses, and have their own local way of speaking the same language as the Noctenes and Matacos. Higher up, that is in our Bolivian Itiyuro, they again take the name of Matacos." [610]

"The fact is then that they do not have what might be called [197] a separate language--rather do they vary the pronunciation of certain terms which does not constitute a separate language but a local variation, as happens with the Spanish of Bolivians, Argentines, Chilians, etc., and between town and town, region and region."

This description was sent to me when I asked for a Pater-noster in Mataguayo, having already received one in Nocten.

114 All that has been transcribed in the previous chapters shows that in the opinion of the missionary fathers the typical tribe was the Nocten, and that this is the name they use where we would say Matacos and Mataguayos. It is to be understood, then, that Nocten is nothing but a corruption of the name Tonocoté or Toconoté, already mentioned.

XX

Geographic Distribution of Mataco-type Nations

101 131 From all that has been told us by the Fathers of the Company and of the Franciscan Missions it can be deduced that the Mataco tribes occupy a diagonal region which in times past extended from the basin

1: Pelleschi--56 C-5 (ca. 1875) 1876 SI7 Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4

XXI

Ethnology of the Mataco-Tonocoté Nation or People

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101 If it is difficult to fix the point or home territory of the Matacos, it is no less difficult to determine their ethnic origin. We lack the first requirement which is the craniology of these Indians: without that information we shall not be able to advance far, but we can at least go a little way by means of the language.

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197 Basing my assertions on what will later be said regarding the language, I find that in the Chaco, as in the rest of America, the languages can be grouped grammatically into two large families. The one suffixes its pronominal particles, the other prefixes them. The former is represented by the nations which are Guaraní-like, and I therefore call it Atlantic, while the latter is made up of Quichua-like nations, for which reason I call it Andean or Pacific.

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197 Holding to this classification, the Matacos as pure prefixers of the majority of pronominal particles,can be neither Lules, nor Vilelas, nor Quichuas, nor Aucasni, nor Aymaraes, since all these languages suffix these particles.

In spite of everything there exist among the Matacos and Lules certain lexical analogies which lead one to suspect some mixture, which would then certainly explain that greater placidity which is characteristic of both nations in the midst of the ferocious Guaycurues of the other parts of the Chaco. [612]

These analogies between Lules and Matacos are only of single words, but the pronouns and their particles are separated, "toto orbe." The same does not occur between the Mataco and the Quichua or Aymará: the first and second person primitive pronouns are somewhat more than merely similar, and this is reason enough to recognize that there was some original contact between the two peoples, though it is true that the Matacos are more backward.

To say that any given grouping of American Indians is of mixed origin is to come close to the truth, for in all probability not one is to be found which is not. In the present instance and judging from the point of view of linguistics, I tend to believe that the Mataco has in it some Lule and some Quichua.

This is not enough. In the reports which preface this study we have seen that the Matacos and Guaycurú-Tobas always go about together,

197 and we are assured that they differed more in language than in their manner and customs, that is to say, that they had in them a good bit of Toba, Mocoví and Abipón. This, linguistically speaking is a fact, for those differences to which the missionaries made reference are lexical rather than grammatical in character. Pronouns, their particles, suffixes of plurality, all point to a common origin, that is, to hybridization.

It is common knowledge that the Matacos and Tobas always went about together, as though they recognized their kinship.

[174] These considerations induce me to believe that the Matacos are the offspring of Guaycurú fathers and Lule mothers; and the Tobas, a mixture of Guaycurúes and Matacos.

The Guaycurúes are related linguistically to the Guaraníes, and these, in turn, to the Caribes and Mojo-Maypures, and they may also be related to the Matacos.

That Mataco has some Guaraní and Chaquense (Guaycurú, Toba, Mocoví, etc. tribes) is to be gathered since all of them prefix their pronominal particles; but the strange thing is that Quichua also has a place here, it being of all the most prone to suffixing.

All these linguistic anomalies can be explained if we admit 174 what Montecinos says, that approximately since 500 B.C. to about 500 A.D. there were successive massive invasions of Perú from Brasil and Tucumán.

Observation teaches us that first and second person singular 197 pronouns and first (excluding the hearer) [613] person plural, correspond 174 to the predominant group, be it by conquest or for some other reason. It is precisely in these persons that the analogy between Quichua and Mataco are most exact, it being only proper to give warning that Mataco, like Mojo, is logical even in its possessive particles, a phenomenon which does not occur in Quichua. (1)

1. Because "Ñokha" is--"I"; "y" subfixed--"my" or "mine," in Quichua.

Aymará and Araucano register the same pronominal influence and such analogies lead us to seek craniological proof, and also to study Mataco along with Quichua Aymará and Araucano.

Let us suppose that the Chaco, or rather the highlands which sur- 174 round it, had been occupied by tribes corresponding to those we call Lules

114 can tell us more than that it existed.

It is hard to understand how the Mataco texts of Jesuit Mission times could have disappeared so completely, a thing lamented over by Machoni more than half a century before the suppression of the order.

I cannot believe that there does not exist, somewhere, a written record of some sort regarding it, and I do not despair of being able to run it down; but for the time being I must limit myself to the works of Father Romedí (of the Seraphic Order), to the notes which were presented to me by the Franciscan College of Tarija and finally and in the place of honor as it were, the field notes of engineer Juan Pelleschi. (1)

1. When I wrote this the Vejoz manuscript had not come into my hands.

In the chapters which treat the subject of the history of the Tonocotés it seems to be proved that the Tonocotés, Mataguayos, Matacos, and the Mocovi-type Guaycurú tribes, were groupings of one single race, which spoke different dialects but which had a great deal in common.

•197 We know now that the Noctenes, Mataguayos, and Matacos are tribes of the same family and speak dialects which are as similar to each other as are Portuguese and Spanish. These dialects, by their grammatical construction can in no way be confused with the Lule of Machoni, since the former prefix their pronominal particles while the latter suffix them.

114 Hervas and Jolís (2) have disproved Machoni's theory that

2. In Italian, as in Latin, "J" sounds like "Y."

[616] the Tonocotés who spoke Lule had taken refuge in the Pilcomayo River basin. Neither at that time nor at the present has any tribe been discovered to correspond to Machoni's Lules in that area, but there do exist there many of the Nocten, Mataco and Mataguayo type whom I suppose to be the real Tonocotés or Toconotés.

193 From the most cursory examination of the Mataco or Mataguayo, or Nocten tongue it is evident that it is a language which prefixes its pronominal particles, while the Lule has just as strong a bent towards suffixing them.

197 [114] This fact alone is sufficient to separate Mataco from Lule with a barrier which is not to be bridged by Father Machoni's brief and indirect reference. This does not mean that I deny that Mataco and Lule may share common words—these analogies will be noted later—but the grammatical mechanism and the pronouns themselves point in absolutely opposite directions.

Following the classification which we have been setting down in this study, Mataco corresponds to the Atlantic type insofar as the position of affixes is concerned, although it is my impression that it leans more closely towards the Moja branch than towards the Guaraní, in spite of the greater immediacy of the latter.

114 197 Before proceeding further let us examine the arguments on which Machoni rests his hypothesis that the Tonocoté of Techo and others is really Lule:

In the first place the Lule language is not widespread but limited to the five nations: Lule, Isistiné, Toquistiné, Oristiné (1)

1. The Missionaries of whom Hervas made enquiries deny that there be Oristinés.

and Tonocoté. The Tonocotés numbered 60,000 souls. (Machoni's prologue.)

Secondly, the Tonocotés in the XVII century lived near Concepción del Bermejo and were evangelized by Fathers Bárcena and Anasco. These Indians taking offense at the Spaniards, went off to the banks of the Yabebirí and Pilcomayo Rivers. Ibid.

Thirdly the Lules, Isistinés, Toquistines and Oristinés were evangelized by Fathers Bárcena, Monroy and Viana in 1589 and visited by Saint Francisco Solano. Ibid.

In the fourth place the Isistinés, Toquistinés and Oristinés fled to the Chaco and there remained for over a hundred years until in 1710 they came before don Esteban de Urizar y Arespacochaga who placed them in the Valbuena and Miraflores reservations; Father Machoni was with them for 9 years. [617]

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197 In the fifth place, Bárcena compiled a grammar and vocabulary of the language of these Indians when he evangelized the Tonocotés and Lules. Machoni confesses that nothing remains of this grammar other than the mention of its existence which appears in the missionary's biography. Ibid.

Conclusión: Ergo this Lule tongue is Tonocoté, common to the aforementioned five nations, and used by the Matará nation and many others of the Chaco for the sole reason that they are neighbors of the Tonocotés and Lules and trade with them.

Regarding all this series of non sequiturs Fathers Yolis [sic] and Hervás have given full account. Machoni confesses that nothing remained of Tonocoté other than the unconnected bits of information which he reports, which certainly have no philological interest whatever.

The Lules of Machoni may or may not be those referred to by Father Techo, but with regard to the Tonocotés Machoni has not given the least proof that they are the Lules; and it goes without saying that the language which he called Lule cannot possibly be stretched to include the Tonocotés.

Even as regards the work of the missionaries this identification of Lules and Tonocotés was unfortunate, for in that region of the Pilcomayo live the Noctenes, Matacos, Mataguayos and Tobas, for whom the Lule tongue is hardly the one to be recommended as common currency.

Had Hervás known about the prefixing character of the Mataguayo and Nocten etc. languages, he would have been even harsher in his criticism of the Lules-Tonocotés of Father Machioni [sic].

Being, as he certainly was, a good philologist he would have known that in a hundred years a suffixing language could hardly change over into being a prefixing one. This violent change is not to be found in any of the other Chaco languages. The Toba of today is the same as the Toba of Bárcena's time, and so also are the other languages.

197 It must be conceded then that the Lule of Machoni was not and could never possibly be the Tonocoté of the early missions.

Since we know that the Mataguayos spoke Tonocoté in the period about which we are writing, and that at the present time Noctenes, Mataguayos, Matacos and many other tribes speak dialects of Mataco,

until the contrary is proved we must suppose that Mataco is Tonocoté.
●197 A language as strongly rooted as this one could not possibly have become lost in the Chaco.

The Mataco language is one of the most widely used languages and is spoken by the largest grouping [618] of Indians in the Argentine and Bolivian Chacos, and yet we do not find it mentioned in any writings. One can therefore only deduce that the language of the Matacos is Tonocoté; this being the only rational hypothesis which for the present fits the case.

As far as languages go we can state that what the Mojos are to the Chiquitos, the Matacos are to the Chaco tribes of the Toba-Mocoví type, and just as the former have their Mosetana tribes so the latter have their Lules and Vilelas.

XXIII

Regarding the Names Tonocoté, Mataco and Mataguayo

101 Nothing better has been written about this than what Hervás has set down in his "Catálogo de las Lenguas" (Catalogue of Languages) on pages 168 and 172. He asserts that the Tonocotés are the Indians called Matarás and says the following:- "Matarás is a Peruvian word which is used to signify a grass which in Spanish is often called "espadaña," etc. The words Tonocot and Toconoté (read Tonocoté) have no meaning whatever in the Lule language, according to the missionaries to the Lule nation, who have told me that they have never heard that the Tonocotés or the Matarás (who are really the Toconotés) (1) were in any way related to the Lules. Yet the Indians

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1. Hervas always writes Toconoté instead of Tonocoté.

consider other tribes related to theirs when they speak the same language; a missionary to the Matarás has told me that he heard his Indians speak, on occasion, a language which was unknown to him and that when he had inquired as to what language it was he learned that it was an ancient language of the Matarás; but since this

1:Pelleschi--68 C-5 (ca 1875) 1876 SI7 Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4

Bulletin of the
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Volume XVIII

[173] The Mataco Indians and their Language

by
Juan Pelleschi
Civil Engineer

PART ONE

Chapter I

Geographic Situation

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The Matacos are hemmed in on the West by the Salta border line and on the East by the Toba frontier. Caught thus between two enemies, they have of necessity formed alliances, the Eastern Matacos with the Tobas and the Western Matacos with the white colonists, each group warring upon the other. In spite of this division the Matacos hold to their common language jealously, although it is true that there are slight dialectal differences to be noted. Thus, for example, the Eastern Matacos almost invariably say "quiá" and "tzá" where their Western counterparts would say "chá," regardless of the fact that any one of these expressions is employed without difficulty by members of the same tribe. The same happens with "quió," "tzó," "chó"; for example: "doe" can be "tzonaj," "quionáj."

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Each nation of Indians has its own territory and will go to war over the smallest patch of land just as we would. The land is also subdivided among the tribes of one nation and these may not overstep their bounds without causing war. These wars are very frequent for the many reasons set down elsewhere and because of the marauding spirit which dominates the Indians -- thus it is that whenever they learn that a tribe [174] has become rich, for one reason or another, in animals or

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12

T
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guaya moderna is essentially a compilation founded on the works of Campos, Cardús, and other writers [1]). The same holds true of the monograph of Father Ducci which, besides, only deals with one sub-tribe of the Tobas on the lower Pilcomayo. [2])

The ethnological studies of the Toba tribe contained in this book mainly refer, as appears from my previous statements, to the Bolivian Tobas, but also to the Toba Pilagá of Argentine. I met the latter at the sugar factories of Esperanza in June 1912, and moreover, some of my Indian informants in Bolivia were from Argentine or had lived among their kinsmen there. The general culture of the Pilagá, as already pointed out, is much the same as that of the Bolivian Tobas, although on the whole they seem to have preserved their old customs better than the latter.

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The third tribe visited by me were the *Mataco*. Next to the Tobas, the Mataco form the largest of the Argentine Chaco tribes, but only a part of them may still be said to live in a state of nature. Three principal Mataco tribes can be distinguished. One of them inhabits the corner in northern Argentine roughly limited by Tartagal in the west and Rio Bermejo — an affluent of the Pilcomayo — in the south. These Mataco are called Vejós and are those most strongly influenced by civilization. The second tribe, known under the name of Mataco-Guisnay, lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo about ten leagues south of Fortín Guachalla. The third tribe, called Mataco-Nocténes — occupies the great triangle roughly formed by lines connecting the villages Yacuiba, Villa Montes, and Crevaux. Those Nocténes who live on the right bank of the Pilcomayo, between Villa Montes and Crevaux, have preserved their original culture best. Among these Indians I spent about one month in October and November 1912. They are culturally closely related to the Tobas living on the other side of the river, and intermarriage between the two tribes is frequent. Still the Nocténes speak their own language which, apart from certain dialectal differences, is the same as that spoken by the Vejós and the Guisnay. The Mataco language shows great affinity to the Choroti language which justifies us in referring both tribes to one and the same principal group. A third Chaco tribe of the same group are probably the Ashluslay, the language of which is unfortunately so far quite unknown to us.

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[1]) Boggiani, *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna*. Asunción, 1900.

[2]) Fray Zacarias Ducci, *Los Tobas de Taccagalé con arte y vocabulario Toba-castellano*. Buenos Aires, 1904.

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

~ on a vowel indicates nasalization.
' on a vowel marks the accentuation.

As far as possible I tried to give the pronunciation of the region of Embarcación, though Pedro spoke another dialect.

A. THE UNIVERSE

1. The Upper and the Lower World (Pedro)

There are two worlds, one above and the other below. Once the world above our heads was in the place of the earth where we live. But the earth (still further) below did not like to be soiled by the excrement of the people dwelling in the sky and therefore it changed places with the earth above. Formerly sky and earth were connected by a big tree (*niLɔk*). The men of this earth climbed up it and went to hunt in the world above. Once a number of them climbed up and succeeded in killing a jaguar. When they divided the meat, they foolishly gave the stomach to an old man. He was so indignant at getting such a miserable portion that he burned the tree, thereby avenging himself. The men who had climbed up could not get down and they still live in the sky. They are a constellation formed by many stars (Pleiades: *patseLai*).

When these first people went to the sky to hunt, they left their children at home. A mother, knowing she would never again rejoin her child on earth, threw him from the sky a deer skin bag filled with honey. The children grew up, they were our fathers.

2. The Compartments of the World (Pedro)

The world is divided into three compartments; the earth the sky and the underworld. In the underworld there are fields like those we have here. The underworld is the abode of the dead. We know it is because we can go there in our dreams to visit our dead relatives. The medicine-men also

Matacos or Noctenes

M 131 648 This tribe is also very numerous; it lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo River, occupying the part opposite the zone occupied by the Toba, with whom they maintain friendly relations which are disturbed from time to time, especially at the time when the algarrobas and other fruits ripen.

M 797 179 A group of these Indians in times past formed a part of the San Antonio del Pilcomayo Mission, where today the Chaco Delegation is located, occupying the mission buildings. But because they are as fickle, or perhaps more so, than the Toba, Religion and the State could make little progress with such Indians.

M 131 197 648 T 186 These Indians are very numerous and in small groups extend as far as the shores of the Bermejo; their language is totally different from that of the other tribes and they hardly mix, although they maintain friendly relations with the Toba, to whom they are considered to be inferior.

M 181 578 273 Their physiognomy is overly languid; sadness can be read in their faces, and they are very miserable; nevertheless they are ferocious in war, in jealousy, or in a state of drunkenness; they injure and kill one another. Out of these considerations the women refrain from drinking to the state of inebriation in order to prevent their husbands' disorders and to hide the weapons in the event of the outbreaks which frequently occur (1).

M 273 [171]

M [243]

1. In the drinking bouts they are the same as the Toba; they make a mead from the fruits of the algarroba, which is almost as intoxicating as brandy; they also make mead from other wild fruits; they do not make <u>chicha</u> because they hardly plant maize.

M 181 721 648 They are more peaceful Indians than the Toba, are not very warlike, and do not attack the houses of the whites but profit when they can from the latter's cattle, especially should a famine break out due to a lack of wild fruits.

Choroti SI6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci 301 302 171 /321 cont./

Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and they also stain their faces.

Ci 648 [464]

In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M 131 101

These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M 101 181 241 231 197

They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's language with very little difference; their customs are nearly identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

M 167 177 464 224

Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons, in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.

M 174 771 776 [756]

They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in sorcerers a power that they do not have.